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ABSTRACT

This paper analyzes and prescribes needed educational services which could be best offered to black students by different kinds of institutions. While addressing themselves to undergraduate academic education universities should concentrate primarily upon their graduate and professional education programs and their research and public service projects. Private four year colleges should emphasize undergraduate academic education, and the community junior colleges should best focus on undergraduate academic and vocational-technical education and public service. A few "truly black" institutions free from dominance by the white power structure are also needed. These black institutions should become centers for research and public service for the black community. Recommendations are made for ways to strengthen these directions. (KG)

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# BLACK HIGHER EDUCATION: WHENCE AND WHITHER?

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# BLACK HIGHER EDUCATION: WHENCE AND WHITHER?

> Opening the doors to higher education for the Negro is an indispensable step, indeed the sine qua non, in his personal and social adjustment. Earl J. McGrath. The Predominantly Negro Colleges and Universities in Transition, 1965, p. 159.

> To a far greater extent than ever before, the problems and issues in Negro education bear directly upon the fate of the higher education in general. Bernard W. Harleston. Atlantic Monthly, November, 1965, p. 144.

As potentially vital agencies in the processes of the society they serve, American colleges and universities have accelerated their involvement during this decade in the major domestic struggle of the times--the effort to bring to the nation's black people all of the privileges as citizens enjoyed by their white counterparts. This effort has come from individuals within the academic community, the work of college students and a few of their teachers in the Southern civil rights agitation of the early sixties constituting one rich example of such action. But America's colleges and universities have also become increasingly involved as institutions, their attempts to provide more spaces in their classrooms for black people representing just one example of this kind of "institutional" effort.

In the pages which follow I shall study this particular institutional effort in hopes of identifying (1) the sources from which it has come, (2) the directions it has taken, and (3) the appropriateness of these directions. More specifically I shall hope to take into account the widely-proclaimed plurality of American higher education in order to ask, "In which colleges and universities might which black people seek which kinds of higher educational experience?" Do the multiversities, for example, with their notorious weakness as teaching institutions in the freshman and sophomore years have any business mounting programs which will enroll "token" groups of black freshmen and sophomores? Do the junior or community colleges, on the other hand, with their implied second-class status as higher educational institutions, have the

potential to attract good numbers and quality of black students? What roles do the smaller, private four-year colleges play? The black institutions? The four-year public colleges? Perhaps I can only ask these questions and hope that others will have the answers to them. Perhaps as a white person I have no business even asking them at all. Perhaps no answers as yet exist. But ask them I must, because under the influence of considerable feelings of guilt over how little they have done in the past[1] and spurred on by the correlative availability of considerable sums of money for mounting such programs, America's colleges and universities have leapt into the fray with both feet. Once in they have found themselves all competing for the small pool of qualified and interested black students and for the even smaller supply of black administrator/professors to work with them. Obviously some distribution of labor is in order. Perhaps this paper can begin to show, however uncertain the route, the way for that distribution of labor.

## Whence?[2]

Black higher education in this country until quite recently has centered in institutions chiefly in the Old South--where the enrollment was predominantly if not totally black and controls over the institutions predominantly white. Before the Civil War a small number of Northern black colleges made feeble starts and a few black students here and there gained admission to white institutions;[3] but following the War

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[1] As of the fall of 1967 a bare 5% of the enrollments of American colleges and universities was black. (Chronicle of Higher Education, January 27, 1969, p. 1)

[2] As a teacher I would be remiss not to give my students full credit for all that they have taught me on this subject of black higher education. Many of them have reacted to earlier versions of this paper, several of them have written papers of their own on subjects closely allied to mine, quite a number in their conversations with me have given me new insights into my subject. Let me therefore simply acknowledge that much which appears on these pages results from my exchanges with my students, both at the University of Illinois and at the University of Washington. I stand much indebted to them for it.

[3] The first two black graduates of white institutions, Edward Jones and John Russworm, both spent most of their careers in Africa. This reflects

new black colleges began appearing in good number, largely as a response to the need to develop a viable sub-culture among the newly freed slaves. Led by a curious combination of church people and retired military officers this movement concentrated in its early years on the preparation of preachers and teachers. After 1880 a third function, advocated by Booker T. Washington and supported by later infusions of funds from the Land Grant College movement, saw these colleges preparing tradesmen in the mechanical and agricultural arts. Conflicts between the advocates of these various curricula followed, and one could question today the extent to which anyone has successfully resolved them. Suffice it to say that the black colleges continued to produce mainly teachers, preachers, and tradesmen and that most black youths who sought higher education did so in these institutions. By 1936, for example, 25,697 black persons had received degrees from the black colleges while only 5,393 had completed their work at white institutions.[1] Writing in 1965, Earl J. McGrath found that over half of the black undergraduates in this country still attended the predominantly black colleges and universities.[2] The graduates of these institutions included, incidentally, most of the leadership of the black community in the present decade, including Whitney Young of Kentucky State; Martin Luther King of Morehouse; Thurgood Marshall of Lincoln; Ralph Bunche, James Farmer, and Stokley Carmichael of Howard; and a host of others.

Following World War II the white colleges began ever-so-slowly to awaken to the need for greater effort in black higher education. Helpful in this effort was the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students, which had its beginnings in 1948. NSSFNS's students did well,[3]

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perhaps one of the prime interests of those seeking in those times (1800-1850) to provide education for the black people, that of preparing them to return to Africa and to establish colonies there. Equally strong, however, was the distrust of educated blacks which led in some areas to laws making it a crime to teach reading and writing to a black person. By 1860 American colleges and universities had graduated fewer than fifty black students. (Brubacher and Rudy, Higher Education in Transition, p. 75)

[1] Johnson, Charles S. The Negro College Graduate, 1938, Ch. 5.

[2] McGrath, Earl J. The Predominantly Negro Colleges in Transition, 1965, p. 3.

[3] Plotkin and Clark. The Negro Student at Integrated Colleges, 1963. But keep in mind a 35.2% return of their questionnaire.

and their success undoubtedly motivated the institutions to expand their efforts to enroll qualified black students. The flow of black students into white institutions remained, however, a mere trickle until the present decade; when the civil rights movement, public school programs such as Higher Horizons, and the realization among certain elite institutions that their students were becoming a rather sterile group combined with several other forces to break the log jam. High among the concerns associated with this change was the realization among college officials that, although their admissions policies claimed not to discriminate on the basis of race, they were indeed discriminating against students, especially those whose test scores did not reflect accurately their ability to do college level work. Prodded first with grants from private foundations such as Rockefeller, Ford, and Carnegie, then pushed with some fervor under Federal War on Poverty programs, and in even more recent times literally shoved by militant black groups to seek out and accept more and more black students and to become involved in the problems of the black community, the colleges and universities today appear at last to have started on the way to reducing the inequities of their past behavior. Their black critics have been quick to remind them, however, that they still have far to go.

How far are they today? Where are they heading? These "Whither" questions provide the content for the second and major portion of the present paper. They also provide the basis for answering the prime questions here under consideration: "In which colleges and universities might which black people appropriately seek which kinds of higher education?"

## Whither?

The catalogue of higher educational activities aimed at increasing opportunity for black people ranges between pre-college programs which seek to increase the numbers of public school black youth interested in obtaining a higher education and those aimed at increasing the numbers of black students in doctoral level curricula. These activities I list under seven categories, as follows:

1) Pre-college education: programs aimed at increasing the numbers of black secondary or junior high school students who eventually will seek a higher education

2) Undergraduate academic education: programs aimed at increasing the numbers of black students enrolled in degree programs at the undergraduate level

3) Vocational-technical education: programs aimed at increasing the numbers of black students seeking training in skilled or para-professional trades

4) Professional education: programs aimed at increasing the numbers of black students enrolled in post-baccalaureate professional curricula; e.g. law, medicine, social work, education, public administration, etc.

5) Graduate education: programs aimed at increasing the numbers of black students enrolled in graduate level courses

6) Adult higher education: daytime or evening programs aimed at increasing the numbers of black people seeking undergraduate higher education who have interrupted their formal education at a period some years previously

7) Research and public service: programs aimed at obtaining new knowledge about black problems or at applying new or old knowledge to the solution of those problems

In addition to these activities, which grow directly from the education, research, and public service functions of higher educational institutions, one can also list a number of support activities which contribute to the total effort. These include:

1) The greater employment of black people on the college and university payrolls--general non-academic staff, faculty, special admissions and financial aid personnel, special counseling personnel, etc.

2) Pressure for equal housing procedures in the neighboring residential communities

3) Opportunities for students to tutor in the local public schools

4) Special informational programs on educational TV

5) Incentives for college and university personnel as individuals to enter into cooperative efforts with the black community which are of mutual interest

Pre-College education: In truth higher education's efforts to interest more black youth in college attendance probably begins with their Head Start and other pre-school programs. Enthusiasts for these programs recognize, in other words, that impacts made on a child at this age affect his interests and motivations in later years.

In the meantime, however, the institutions cannot ignore those youths already at the secondary and junior high school age levels. Urged on by NSSFNS, for instance, colleges and universities have sent teams of professors, admissions officers, financial aids officers, and others into secondary and junior high schools having large black student enrollments, schools which these officials in the past usually avoided in their recruiting activities. Now, to the contrary, they openly seek out the students in these schools, many of whom have college potential but who would rarely seek a higher education unless encouraged by someone (increasingly a black person) from a college who tells them that they can and how.

On another front colleges have mounted secondary and junior high school projects on their own campuses, Dartmouth's A Better Chance, Yale's Summer High School, Reed's Expending Opportunities Program, and Project Opportunity in the South representing early examples of this kind of activity.[1] Projects such as this became the prototype for the Upward Bound Program of the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity. Indeed the director of Upward Bound during its early years, Richard T. Frost, had earlier played an important role in the Reed effort. Upward Bound, however, has had its troubles, largely because of feeble support from Congress. An occasionally costly program (up to $1500 per student for a six-to-eight-week summer session), it served during the summer of 1966--its first year in operation--only three percent of the 600,000 interested and qualified students it might have served had the funds been available. The increasing costs of the Viet Nam War and occasional resistance from the black community have further cut into Upward Bound since that time.

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[1] Dyer, Henry J. "Toward More Effective Recruitment and Selection of Negroes in College," Journal of Negro Education (Summer, 1967) p. 224.

As an alternative to requiring students to leave their home environments, a number of cities--notably New York, Buffalo, Chicago, and Minneapolis--have opened what popularly have come to be known as "store front schools," which offer dropout students opportunity to resume their education outside the formal educational establishment. Progress in these programs, while at times difficult to identify, has nevertheless proven sufficient to justify their continuation and the excitement officials have shown in them. Colleges and universities--Manhattanville College in New York, the State University of New York at Buffalo, and the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis, for instance--have played a role in the store front schools, many of whose graduates already have enrolled in colleges and universities across the land.

These few, representative examples of college and university efforts at pre-college education illustrate the potential impact that such programs can have. More creative undertakings will undoubtedly occur in the months and years ahead. The almost inevitable appearance of television sets, for instance, in even the most poverty-stricken residential areas of the nation argue for the expansion of the role this medium can play; and Britain's new open university may indeed provide some clues on how best to proceed in this realm.

Which higher educational institutions might best enter into black pre-college education? I for one find good reason for all of them to play a role in this activity. To be sure, all of those institutions which offer undergraduate instruction--junior colleges, four-year private and public colleges, the black colleges and universities, and large, predominantly white universities--could see this as a vital part of their effort to improve opportunities for the black community. Graduate and professional schools could play their part, too. Apparently quite important, for instance, for students considering higher education is their exposure to individuals after whom they can model their own dreams for a career. The visit to their school of a black (or perhaps even white) representative of the graduate or professional school goes far toward making such a model available to them.

When I asked a representative sample of college and university presidents whether indeed they had a commitment to pre-college education,

they tended to show only partial agreement that they can indeed play a role here. Total figures, as revealed in Table One following, shows that only 40% of the institutions already have mounted such programs. Another 24%, however, want to become involved. Thirty-six per cent, on the other hand, do not consider this function appropriate. Those most involved now are the black colleges, the universities, and the community junior colleges. Many public four-year colleges, however, do not consider this function appropriate to them.[1]

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[1] These data result from a survey conducted in May and June of 1969. A 10% sample of five categories of higher educational structures was taken from the USOE Education Directory, Part 3, 1967-8 (and, in the case of the black institutions, a larger sample from the McGrath list). 74% responded, the highest return (83%) coming from the universities and the lowest (60%) from the community junior colleges. In all, 15 universities are involved, 64 private four-year colleges, 19 public 4-year colleges, 26 community junior colleges, and 8 black colleges.

No systematic characteristic accounts for the non-respondent group. It includes institutions from all parts of the country with enrollments ranging from 259 to over 30,000. Nor does type of financial support account for differences in the two groups. One could hypothesize that those institutions that did not respond do not give high priority to black higher education. On the other hand, they may simply have mistrusted (possibly with good reason) the use to which the data would be put.

One other point regarding the sample is in order. In selecting junior colleges I sought to include only those which are publicly-supported and have comprehensive transfer, occupational, and service functions. I particularly sought to eliminate the private junior colleges which serve primarily a transfer function, because I wanted institutions more apt to have programs in the broad range of activities included in this study. In many ways, too, I would expect the private junior colleges to parallel the private four-year institutions and not to stand out as such a distinct group for purposes of this study.

TABLE ONE

Percentage of Involvement in Pre-College Education for Black Students

| Type of Institution | Institution is Involved | Institution Would Like to be Involved | Institution Appropriately is not Involved |
|---|---|---|---|
| Universities | 53 | 20 | 27 |
| 4-Year Private College | 36 | 23 | 41 |
| 4-Year Public Colleges | 16 | 37 | 47 |
| Community Junior Colleges | 46 | 23 | 31 |
| Black Colleges | 100 | 0 | 0 |
| All Institutions* | 40 | 24 | 36 |

*Percentages for "All Institutions" are skewed by the large number of private four-year colleges in the sample.

Pre-college education, then, does deserve broad support, if for no other reason than the need to reach more black students before they lose hope in their own future. With the success of pre-college education will come, however, larger concentrations of black undergraduate students on the nation's campuses. Are the institutions ready for them? What efforts have they taken in trying to meet this need? Which institutions can appropriately concentrate their efforts in this area? Some answers to these questions are examined in the next section.

Undergraduate Academic Programs: Of all their efforts to meet the higher educational needs of the black community, American colleges and universities have devoted the most energy to enrolling more black people in their undergraduate academic programs. Perhaps because this area has seen, however, the greatest activity it has also received the greatest amount of publicity and suffered the most negative criticism. This criticism, indeed, accounted for much of the student unrest of the nation's campuses during the 1968-69 academic year. Recent writers have nevertheless

suggested that the nation's white institutions need to enroll 250,000 black students each year in order to reduce the educational "gap" between white and black society. Do this, they suggest, so as to bring black student enrollment to the 12% level which black people represent in American society.[1]

As mentioned on Pages Two through Five the predominantly black colleges and universities have carried the major burden of black undergraduate education throughout the nation's history. Thus they have had the most experience with it and, in the words of a former president of one of these institutions, "have demonstrated more knowhow in dealing with the disadvantaged than any other group of institutions." Here, this writer continues, is where "the formidable task of educating 'high risk' students--those not being recruited vigorously on any appreciable scale by any other group of institutions" will occur. Given adequate support, he concludes, the predominantly black colleges will "play a vital, if not the decisive role, in providing the education required.[2]

Dr. Wright would be quick to agree, however, with those who point out that all is not well among the black colleges and universities. While admitting the need, for example, to allow for the great plurality of black institutions, Jaffe, Adams, and Meyers have sounded a typical alarm. "The continuing prominence of the Negro college in Negro higher education," they warn, "is disturbing chiefly because of mounting evidence that the quality--and consequently the value--of education at many Negro colleges is very much in doubt."[3] These writers find a picture of poor students going to poor colleges, many of them becoming teachers, and returning to the secondary schools where they assume the continuing mediocrity of

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[1] Wisdom, Paul E. and Shaw, Kenneth A. "Black Challenge to Higher Education," Educational Record (Fall 1969) p. 352.

[2] Wright, Stephen J. "The Promise of Equality," Saturday Review (July 20 1968) p. 46. Programs at some white institutions, such as Cornell's COSEP also focus on these students, whose records appear at best marginal.

[3] Jaffe, Adrian J., Walter Adams, and Sandra Meyers, "The Sharply-Stratified World of the Negro Colleges," College Board Review (Winter, 1967) p. 20.

generations of young people.[1] Shock waves of major proportion passed through the black colleges when Christopher Jencks and David Riesman published a preview chapter from their The Academic Revolution in the summer 1967 edition of the Harvard Educational Review.[2] Such colleges, Jencks and Riesman found, have a higher proportion of students per professor, the professors are less well trained, and (until the recent demand for black teachers arose) the professors were less employable elsewhere than on their present campus.[3] Students on these campuses, declared the same writers, lacked the quality of students on most campuses. "The white student with the same aptitude as the typical Negro college applicant," they insisted, "has only about one chance in ten of entering college and completing his freshman year in good standing."[4]

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[1] A description of the depths to which these institutions can fall appears in Jon Fielding's "Fleming University," Educational Record (Winter, 1968) pp. 34-40.

[2] Especially threatening were some of the distorted reports of the Jencks-Riesman statement which appeared at the time in the popular media. The authors have complained strenuously over these distortions. But they have also commented in the book version of their statement that many of their criticisms, despite the responses the Review version drew from black educators, still stands. And they took the presidents of these institutions further to task by accusing them of not responding in even one single instance of which they were aware to the suggestions contained in the Jencks-Riesman statement. (The Academic Revolution, 1968, p. 478.)

[3] The Academic Revolution, 1968, p. 432. Questions about the continuation of these institutions still appear. See Alan E. Bayer and Robert F. Boruch, "Black and White Freshmen Entering Four-Year Colleges," Educational Record (Fall, 1969), p. 385.

[4] Ibid, p. 429. Jaffe, Adams, and Meyers reported supporting evidence of this finding. Only six of the black colleges which they studied enrolled students half or more of whom tested in the upper half on nationally-standardized examinations (op. cit., p. 22) And Julian Stanley, reporting on conditions in Georgia, found the credentials of black students much lower than those of the white students. Had the black colleges in that state closed, few of the black students in Stanley's judgment would have successfully gained admission to the remaining institutions in that state. ("Letter," Harvard Educational Review (Winter, 1962) p. 476)

Blame for these conditions rests with the American society and with the white educational establishment. Psychologist Kenneth B. Clark has stated this position most emphatically:

> Negro colleges and universities are academically inferior. . . because they reflect the cumulative inferiority of segregated education and the inevitable pathology of a racist segregated society which inflicts upon lower-status human beings a debilitating, humanly destructive form of public education both in the South and in the North.[1]

Clark's conclusion has special relevance, both because it leads to questions as to what white institutions today might do to correct the error of their ways and because it casts doubt on some of today's separatist efforts among the militant black group. Responses to the former question will follow, but here some brief reaction to the separatist movement seems appropriate. Non-militants, such as Roy Wilkins and Thurgood Marshall, have expressed great concern lest a return to separatism mark a return to the inferiority of segregated schooling to which Clark (above) reacted so negatively. Moderates, on the other hand, see the separatist movement as transitional, as a necessary middle step aimed at giving black people a self-respect and a power base from which eventually they can return to deal with white society on a truly equal basis. Militants do not appear to be looking that far ahead. They are looking now for ways to build a strong, viable black culture, and they'll take the next step beyond that when they get it. Hopefully, in my white-biased view, the moderate, non-militant positions will prevail.

But what about the response of the white institutions to the problem of improving the black colleges? To be sure, they have taken action--with supportive exchange programs between themselves and the black colleges, with personnel (such as former Harvard dean, John Munro) who have given over their careers to working in the black colleges, with graduate programs and workshops aimed at improving the quality of teaching in the black institutions, etc. But while they have undertaken these teacher-development programs they have also increasingly "raided" the same colleges in search

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[1] Clark, Kenneth B. "Higher Education for Negroes: Challenges and Prospects," Journal of Negro Education (Summer, 1967) p. 199.

of the best black teachers, in the process defeating the purpose of the teacher-development programs.[1] Obviously, they deserve, therefore, every bit as much criticism as they themselves have heaped on the black colleges and universities.

In regard to their own undergraduate programs, the white institutions have employed a great range of tactics aimed at insuring the success of the black students who decide to seek an education with them. Berg and Axtel have, for example, compiled a summary of the activities undertaken by the junior colleges of California in behalf of disadvantaged youth. Their list includes the following:

1) Tutoring on a one-to-one basis
2) Special summer session
3) Work-study arrangements
4) Free lunches and transportation
5) Black studies curricula
6) Special courses and counseling dealing with the adjustment problems of black students
7) Nursery schools for students' children
8) Teacher-aid curricula
9) Community leadership programs
10) A student service corps for work in poverty areas
11) Black-white student retreats
12) Grading practices which enable a student to withdraw from a course even after his final examination in that course
13) Special occupational curricula, and a host of other

Despite their impressive list Berg and Axtel reached a rather gloomy conclusion. In their words:

> Although it is generally recognized by the administrators, counselors, and instructors in California's junior colleges that these institutions enroll a much larger proportion of disadvantaged students than the other California institutions of higher education; and although there is general agreement that the junior colleges of California must accept the major role in the education of those students,

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[1] See, for instance, the statement of historian Vincent Harding in the Winter 1969 issue of Columbia Forum.

> and that junior colleges are the institutions of higher education best equipped to perform that function, only minimal special efforts are being made to provide the educational experiences which would help disadvantaged students to overcome the effects of discrimination and deprivation.[1]

In the context of the university Robert E. Williams has prepared a list of special programs for disadvantaged students undertaken by these particular higher educational institutions. Williams' list includes the following:

1) Special financial aid programs
2) Special housing and dining arrangements
3) Intensive orientation projects for incoming students
4) Special courses
5) Small group instruction
6) Programmed learning
7) Tutorial assistance
8) Personal counseling
9) Compensatory study in language arts
10) Reduced course loads
11) Extended time periods for obtaining degrees[2]

Williams' list, when added to that of Berg and Axtel, probably identifies many of the strategies now in use by American colleges and universities. Although, as Williams indicates, the particular efficacy of these special programs in insuring the success of disadvantaged students in college has yet to be tested to any degree by careful research, the list nevertheless illustrates a lesson which too many institutions learned too late, namely, that one cannot simply decide to enroll a new group of black students of any number without also taking considerable effort to insure that

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[1] Berg, Ernest H. and Dayton Axtel. "Programs for Disadvantaged Students in the California Community Colleges." Peralta Junior College District, 1968, p. 75. I am indebted to my colleague, Professor Terry U. O'Banion, for directing me to this report.

[2] Williams, Robert L. "What Are We Learning From Current University Programs for Disadvantaged Students?", mimeographed, University of Tennessee, 1968. See also his article in Journal of Higher Education, April, 1969, pp. 274-285.

he has provided an environment in which they can feel comfortable and in which they can hope to survive. These are very special people, as Dean Clarence Shelley of the University of Illinois has suggested. "I am convinced," commented Shelley, that:

> . . .this university (Illinois) will change because of these students. They're a more sophisticated group than the general student body is, more intent and more sensitive to all kinds of things. As a group they're more aware of what's going on around them, and partially it's because so many of them came here for nothing other than to get an education.[1]

Black students and their black teachers today have some ideas on the nature of this change; and, as mentioned earlier, much of the unrest of past months has grown from the exchange of these ideas with the white leaders who control these institutions. Should the new curricula include, for instance, special black studies courses? If so, should only black teachers teach them? What kinds of credentials should these black teachers have? Should white students enroll in these courses, or would their presence destroy the potential for a meaningful, personal learning experience among the black students? Or should the courses already in the college catalogs simply undergo sufficient content change to reflect the concerns of black people, concerns which heretofore the academic world has for the most part ignored? Should black students have separate residence arrangements? Should they regulate their own discipline? Should they have separate student union facilities? Should they control the selection of their teachers, especially in their black studies curricula? Should they control the admission of black students to their own institution? Questions such as these have risen time and again in recent months, and finding answers to them has not proven easy. In some cases the answers have involved loss of traditional faculty prerogatives, in others questions of Constitutional law; and in neither of these areas is it possible to produce rapid change or to find easy answers.

When I sought answers from college and university presidents to the simpler question of whether or not they had even become involved in black

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[1] Quoted in the Champaign-Urbana Courier, December 31, 1968, p. 2.

undergraduate education, I found that most had. This, of course, included the multiversities and junior colleges, about whom, the reader will recall, I had expressed some scepticism in the opening paragraphs of this paper:

> Do the multiversities. . . with their notorious weakness as teaching institutions in the freshman and sophomore years have any business mounting programs which will enroll "token" groups of black freshmen and sophomores? Do the junior or community colleges, on the other hand, with their implied second-class status as higher educational institutions, have the potential to attract good numbers and quality of black students?

The fact remains, however, that these two higher educational structures do have a role to play. This I have come to realize as I sought answers to the question of proper divisions of labor. And so do the public and private four-year colleges, black and white.

When the black community sees the local junior college, in other words, as offering the means for breaking through the barriers which heretofore have barred them from a full realization of their potential, these institutions have become heavily involved in black higher education. In some cases this will mean literal black control of these colleges, such as has happened in several of the Chicago City Colleges and in Berg and Axtel's home district of Peralta in California. An avowedly "local" institution, the community junior college would rightly come under the control of black people in those communities which are predominantly black.

The black community will not, on the other hand, control the multiversity. Probably no one controls this massive structure. Perhaps the most comprehensive of all American higher educational institutions, the university has in the past and will in the future perform all of the functions here under consideration.

In all likelihood the black community will permit the universities no other choice, even though it does not control them in any direct sense. Seen by black people--rightfully or wrongfully--as offering higher education of high status, the universities have become the special targets of those individuals seeking to destroy the barriers to black opportunity. Although the four-year colleges and the junior colleges have perhaps a more singular commitment to undergraduate academic education, they also

suffer (with the exception of certain high status private colleges) an unfortunately secondary rank in the eyes of that public. To tell a people whom you have historically relegated to an inferior status and who now seek equal status that they might appropriately attend institutions which they consider to have secondary status will not likely gain a favorable hearing from them. The black community expects the universities to play a major part, and this the universities have done (and will appropriately continue doing).

Fortunately, the universities' high status also attracts to their ranks a rich plurality of talents. Among these talents--surprising in view of a reputedly contrary rewards system--is outstanding teaching ability. Practically any university graduate can point to the existence of great teachers there. Concerned first with human relations and with youth's desire to know, these teachers have found themselves attracted to the black programs within their institutions; and wise administrators have given them their head in devising ways to meet the special needs of these students. From such efforts have occasionally come, incidentally, innovations relevant to the needs of all of the universities' students, not simply the black ones.

Because of their more singular commitment to undergraduate academic education, the private four-year colleges would seem to have a vital role to play in meeting the undergraduate academic needs of the black community. Faced in many instances, however, with an uncertain financial future, presidents of the nation's white private colleges may well ask how appropriately they should enter the costly business of black higher education. Unless some agency provides the funds for the endeavor these colleges will probably not undertake black undergraduate education in any large degree. Yet they have the spaces, and they have the commitment and expertise to do a good job.

Among the public four-year colleges, some of the current interest among state governments in providing more local, commuter-type higher education offers a vehicle for supporting their entry in a large way into black higher education. Where these colleges are located in communities with large black populations, they have already become heavily involved.

It remains only for state legislators and city councilmen to recognize this and to provide the support for it. As with the black colleges and the community junior colleges, the white public four-year colleges have dealt for decades with problems of the marginal undergraduate student, and to the extent that they have learned from this experience and begun to find answers to the question of how to improve the "survival rate" of such students, they probably can make valuable contributions.

The answer here, then, as with so many present-day problems, focuses on money. For the private four-year colleges, funding can and should come primarily from Federal and philanthropic sources (although some of the wealthier states--Illinois, New York, Pennsylvania, California, and a few others--have seen or at least considered the need to help the private sector). In the public sector the major support has come traditionally from state and municipal sources, and it will probably continue to do so as the states and cities take action to solve this major domestic crisis of our times.

Returning to the questionnaire results, I found presidents of these various American higher educational structures responding more positively to undergraduate academic education than to any other item on the questionnaire. More institutions, in other words, are engaged in this activity in behalf of black people (80%) or would like to become involved in it (another 8%) than in any other activity. As Table Two reveals, the black colleges and private four-year colleges, and the universities indicated the highest levels of activity and interest, the community junior colleges and the public four-year colleges the lowest. These latter institutions, often more "local" than the others here identified, will usually not mount special programs for black students if they have no blacks in the area they serve. But those colleges which have residence facilities (mainly the four-year colleges) may want to study ways of bringing black students from other areas to their campus.

Many of the presidents responding to my questionnaire would agree that for some of their black undergraduates, the academic program is not appropriate. They would have these students enroll in occupational courses which cater to other unique and special aptitudes. What directions have the nation's colleges and universities taken in providing vocational-technical

TABLE TWO
Percentage of Involvement in Academic Undergraduate Education for Black Students

| Type of Institution | Institution is Involved | Institution Would Like to be Involved | Insitution Appropriately is not Involved |
|---|---|---|---|
| Universities | 80 | 7 | 13 |
| Private 4-year colleges | 91 | 2 | 8 |
| Public 4-year colleges | 58 | 21 | 21 |
| Community junior colleges | 62 | 19 | 19 |
| Black colleges | 100 | 0 | 0 |
| All institutions | 80 | 8 | 11 |

education for the black community? Which of these structures most appropriately enter into this area? In the section that follows I seek answers to these difficult questions.

Vocational-technical higher education: The memory of Booker T. Washington and his proposed solution for enabling whites and blacks to live together in the same community today haunts the vocational-technical programs of Americans higher educational institutions. The usual low status of these programs and the threat this lower status portends for a people seeking a new pride militates against the growth of the programs. The suggestion of school or college counselors that black students consider a vocational or technical career--largely because these counselors have in the past seriously erred in making this recommendation to blacks they had stereotypes as inferior--makes them reluctant to suggest it today and the students equally resistant to the suggestion.

Yet when colleges have entered into such programs they often have enjoyed singular success with them. One such is Washtenaw Community College. Located next door to Detroit's massive automobile industry, the Washtenaw planners have combined the industry's needs for supervisors with

elements of their social science curriculum to produce a commendable work-study program for ghetto youths in the community.[1] Such a program speaks especially to perhaps the most critical manpower problem faced by those in business and industry who seriously seek to improve opportunities for black people: that of developing a class of black foremen, supervisors, and business management specialists.

In 1965 San Francisco's Golden Gate College began a similar three-year pilot project which placed minority group students in part-time positions in the city's business and industrial firms while providing them with opportunities to study toward a college degree.[2] In this instance (as at Washtenaw) the student participants saw themselves potentially as working in positions of responsibility and high status, while the participating firms saw the potential for hiring competent, college-trained people. These perceptions of mutual advantage may offer one good clue for proceeding with the occupational higher education of black people. When seen by the black community as offering a real means of breaking through barriers which heretofore have barred them from full realization of their potential, the vocational-technical programs have attracted and will increasingly attract interested black students.

Which institutions appropriately enter into vocational-technical higher education? Two of the structures under consideration have in my estimation the major responsibility: the comprehensive community junior colleges and the four-year public colleges.[3] The former institutions, especially those whose leaders have specifically sought to give primary status to the occupational programs or where they have merged the academic occupational curricula so as to complicate the rise of courses of differing statuses, have accepted a major responsibility for this activity and have much to contribute to it.

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[1] Plummer, Robert H. "Escape from the Ghetto at Washtenaw," Junior College Journal (October, 1968) pp. 18-21.

[2] Kelly, Richard K. "An Experimental Work-Study Program for Disadvantaged Youth," Educational Record (Spring, 1968) pp. 214-219.

[3] Another structure not included in this particular study but much involved in vocational-technical education is the separate, unitary technical school.

Not all four-year public colleges will see themselves as appropriately involved in the vocational-technical higher education of black students. They can, however, play a part in preparing high level technicians for the vital functions they perform in modern society. These usually-four-year programs lead to a baccalaureate degree and can provide black youths with access to higher status positions in society.

By tradition some universities will be involved in undergraduate vocational-technical programs, and they will probably have a growing role in the training of teachers for such programs; but this will not constitute a major thrust for these structures. Few private colleges by tradition belong in this activity, and among the black colleges and universities probably only those which have followed the Tuskegee tradition will have much to offer.

How did the presidents respond to questions about their interest in black vocational technical education? Predominantly they responded on the basis of whether or not they considered vocational-technical education a valid function of their institution, irregardless of the racial question. Thus the highest response came from the community junior colleges, where 65% indicated they were already involved in this activity and another 19% stated that they would like to become involved. This contrasts most sharply with the responses of the private four-year colleges, which predictably did not see themselves as playing a significant role here. Hopefully, in the future the public four-year colleges will assume a greater responsibility for vocational-technical education than they apparently now do. This applies especially in the preparation of technicians in four-year degree programs, a function no other higher educational structure would appear prepared to perform.[1]

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[1] A possible misinterpretation of the data may also operate here. The sample of public four-year colleges, although larger than that of the universities and the black colleges, is decidedly smaller than those of the private colleges and the community junior colleges. Thus the existence of a few non-involved institutions in this sample could have a greater impact on the percentages reported.

TABLE THREE

Percentages Involved in Vocational-Technical Education for Black Students

| Type of Institution | Institution is Involved | Institution Would Like to be Involved | Institution Appropriately is not Involved |
|---|---|---|---|
| Universities | 13 | 7 | 80 |
| Private 4-year colleges | 3 | 5 | 92 |
| Public 4-year colleges | 21 | 16 | 63 |
| Community junior colleges | 65 | 19 | 15 |
| Black colleges | 38 | 13 | 50 |
| All institutions* | 21 | 10 | 69 |

*Percentages for "All institutions" are skewed by the large number of private four-year colleges in the sample.

Adult Higher Education: I have had trouble bringing into focus just what I mean by adult black higher education. In my questionnaire I worded it this way:

> Daytime or evening programs aimed at increasing the numbers of black people seeking undergraduate higher education who have interrupted their formal education at a period five or more years previously

By this statement I had hoped to exclude the literacy education usually associated with the adult education programs of secondary schools. I wanted to include both the high school graduate who goes on to college some years (five years was a terribly arbitrary figure) after finishing secondary school or the person who has had to interrupt his undergraduate education. I wanted also to exclude the sort of "continuing" education associated with medicine, business, and certain other fields where people return at the post-baccalaureate level for purposes of upgrading their knowledge or skills in light of new findings.

Does this area constitute a special need of the black person? One of participants in Golden Gate College's work-study program discussed earlier had not been involved in formal study for some nineteen years prior to commencing the new venture in 1965. In this sense, Golden Gate College was offering adult higher education to its community.

Golden Gate College, the University of Louisville, and a host of other urban colleges and universities do indeed have large programs; they provide real hope for people of a community who for reasons of work or family must seek their education in the evenings. Leaders of these programs relate numerous stories of heroic efforts by their students, efforts which today can find relief in the increased societal support for the higher education of the underprivileged.

Who appropriately mounts these programs? Obviously, the responsibility falls chiefly to the urban institutions, whether junior colleges, four-year institutions, or universities, with the main burden falling to the community colleges or the four-year colleges if they share a community with a university. My own ignorance of this area reflects the ignorance of many in the university of the adult higher education function. Much would appear possible here--in the development of special programs for mothers and wives who want to return to work, just to name one sub-area--and too few people, myself included, have given enough attention ot it.

When I study the questionnaire returns in this area, I find that many reflect my own uncertainty over adult higher education. The black colleges, on the other hand, have no doubts. All who responded to my questionnaire said they have programs underway. But, eliminating them from my sample, I find half of the remaining institutions declaring that they appropriately <u>do not</u> perform this function! Only the community junior colleges, among the white institutions, showed a majority involvement, although 21% of the public four-year colleges indicated that they would like to become involved in adult higher education. The strong response of the black colleges argues that institutions striving to meet the higher educational needs of black people may find that adult higher education serves this goal especially well.

TABLE FOUR

Percentages Involved in Adult Black Higher Education

| Type of Institution | Institution is Involved | Institution Would Like to be Involved | Institution Appropriately is not Involved |
|---|---|---|---|
| Universities | 33 | 7 | 60 |
| Private 4-year colleges | 19 | 20 | 62 |
| Public 4-year colleges | 31 | 21 | 47 |
| Community junior colleges | 54 | 27 | 19 |
| Black colleges | 100 | 0 | 0 |
| All institutions* | 34 | 19 | 47 |

*Percentages for "All institutions" are skewed by the large number of private four-year colleges in the sample.

Professional Education: With this category I move into post-baccalaureate higher education, which, by definition, immediately eliminates certain higher educational institutions, including the community junior colleges and many four-year institutions. Officials responsible for professional education in this country have indeed quickened their efforts to meet black needs. In the universities, for example, some have asked if major effort perhaps shouldn't go especially into professional programs. Other higher educational structures, they argue, have pre-college, undergraduate academic, vocational-technical, and adult higher education programs. Professional education, they continue, by contrast is more often limited to the university. This then becomes the major area into which they would have the university put its efforts and resources.

Undeniably, the universities have a role to play here. Professional training in municipal and public administration, educational administration, business administration, teacher education, law, medicine, dentistry, urban planning, and social work, just to name some of the more prominent and obvious fields, provides rich opportunity for black people to move into positions of high status and high responsibility in their community.

Indeed, black youth aspire to certain of these professions to an unusually high degree, largely because of the status which they carry with them.[1]

What have the universities been doing? At the University of Illinois, for example, the College of Law has actively recruited minority students and has had little difficulty finding applicants who can meet its usual entrance standards. Here again, however, a major difficulty has arisen over funding. It would appear, in other words, that no agency has as yet moved into this area with funds sufficient to project it toward its potential. The high cost of such programs probably argues for major funding coming from Federal sources, and hopefully such funding will prove forthcoming. The professional education of one black person, largely because of the impact that person can have on scores of his fellows, argues convincingly for the expansion of this part of the university program.

The questionnaire response, much as with vocational-technical education and adult higher education, reflects the presidents' perceptions of whether they appropriately should serve the professional education function, regardless of race. If you have no post-baccalaureate professional program in your institution (and my questionnaire specifically limited professional education to the post-baccalaureate realm), then you're not about to mount one especially for black people. Unlike adult higher education, wherein resources already available lend themselves to the addition of the new function, professional education requires special personnel, facilities, and material. Thus the universities most appropriately have carried the major burden in this area.

Public four-year colleges, where they have post-baccalaureate programs, indicated in the survey their genuin interest. Note that 32% now have special programs underway and another 42% would like to become involved. Such programs offer upward mobility, not only to the individuals involved but also to the institutions, which see this as one further step toward university status.

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[1] Not always, however, have black people sought this opportunity. The June 21, 1968 edition of Medical World News, reported, for instance, a a nationwide decline in the number of black dentists and black dental students. (p. 72)

TABLE FIVE

Percentages Involved in Professional Education for Black Students

| Type of Institution | Institution is Involved | Institution Would Like to be Involved | Institution Appropriately is not Involved |
|---|---|---|---|
| Universities | 67 | 20 | 13 |
| Private 4-year colleges | 14 | 0 | 86 |
| Public 4-year colleges | 32 | 42 | 26 |
| Community junior colleges | 0 | 0 | 100 |
| Black colleges | 50 | 25 | 25 |
| All institutions* | 22 | 10 | 68 |

*Percentages for "All institutions" are skewed by the large number of private four-year colleges in the sample.

Graduate Education: Universities also, of course, dominate graduate education. And it would appear that black interest in graduate education equals their interest in professional education. Astin, Panos, and Creager found in their 1966 analysis of freshmen at predominantly black colleges, for example, an unusually high proportion of freshmen planning to seek graduate degrees.[1]

Where should these graduate programs for black students be located? Should they go to the black institutions where this interest appears so strong? Or should they go to the white institutions which already have programs of world-wide repute underway? Should the programs be developed in a large number of institutions so as to put more centers close to where their potential students live and work, or should they go to a few centers where the limited resources can be concentrated on producing the highest possible quality undertaking? McGrath and Jencks and Riesman[2]

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[1] Astin, Alexander, Robert J. Panos, and John A. Creager. Supplementary Norms for Freshmen Entering College in 1966. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1966.

Riesman[1] have argued for concentrating graduate and professional education in the white institutions. One developing program has, however, involved a consortium of black colleges and universities in the Atlanta area. Such a consortium does nevertheless reflect some trend toward concentrating special programs for black graduate and professional students in a few high quality centers.

The presidents in their responses again reflected the degree to which their institutions were at all involved in graduate education, irregardless of the racial question. Universities thus showed the greatest interest, with the public four-year colleges showing the next degree of interest.

TABLE SIX

Percentages Involved in Graduate Education for Black Students

| Type of Institution | Institution is Involved | Institution Would like to be Involved | Institution Appropriately is not Involved |
|---|---|---|---|
| Universities | 67 | 20 | 13 |
| Private 4-year colleges | 9 | 3 | 88 |
| Public 4-year colleges | 16 | 26 | 58 |
| Community junior colleges | 0 | 0 | 100 |
| Black colleges | 50 | 0 | 50 |
| All institutions* | 17 | 8 | 75 |

*Percentages for "All institutions" are skewed by the large number of private four-year colleges in the sample.

Research and Public Service: Higher education can probably make some of its most lasting contributions to meeting black needs by means of its research and public service functions. On the one hand college and

[1] McGrath, 1965, op. cit. p. 89.
Jencks and Riesman, 1968, op. cit., p. 437.

university people seek new knowledge relating to the problems of black people; on the other they attempt to apply new or old knowledge to the solution of these problems. In both they serve a need rarely served by any other agency in American society.

To date very little has occurred. Research support during the past three decades reflects a particular focus upon the generally perceived needs of the nation during that time in that the support has gone predominantly to the natural and physical sciences. The academic community has, as a result, made great strides in unlocking secrets in those particular fields and in putting these secrets to work. Unfortunately, support has not gone in nearly the same degree to those fields such as humanities and the behavioral and social sciences where knowledge and expertise, if developed, could speak more directly to black needs. But hopefully priorities have begun to change; and concern for man's relations with man has begun to receive some of the priority reserved in the past for concerns with man's relations with the machine.

If such a priority shift does indeed occur, then the scholars in the humanities and the behavioral and social sciences must show the capacity to serve well the particular needs of society to which this paper speaks. To date, with what support they have managed to muster, they have only chipped away at the surface of the problem.[1] Needed are institution-wide structures committed solely to community relations and community service and research and public service undertakings which strive to see the whole picture instead of only certain of its parts. To date only a few institutions--perhaps Federal City College, SUNY at Buffalo, the University of Washington and California State Colleges at Los Angeles would be included in this select list--appear to be making such an effort.[2]

Judging from the responses to my questionnaire, only the black colleges and the universities have as yet entered too strenuously into

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[1] Note, for example, the failures to which Daniel Maynihan pointed in his Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding (Free Press, 1969).

[2] I am indebted to one of my students, Mr. James Steele, for these ideas.

this realm. In my particular sample only 23% of the community junior colleges, for example, now engage in research and public service on black problems, whereas 42% consider this an area in which they appropriately are not involved. Again this may reflect communities lacking significant black populations, but it comes as a surprise from a branch of higher education which supposedly sees public service as one of its major concerns (and some of the communities included in this 42% do indeed have black components). On the other hand, my lumping together of research and public service may have bothered those junior college people who see public service as a major function but consider research inappropriate for their type of institution.

TABLE SEVEN

Percentages Involved in Research and Public Service on Black Problems

| Type of Institution | Institution is Involved | Institution Would Like to be Involved | Institution Appropriately is not Involved |
|---|---|---|---|
| Universities | 73 | 13 | 13 |
| 4-year private colleges | 28 | 27 | 45 |
| 4-year public colleges | 47 | 21 | 32 |
| Community junior colleges | 23 | 35 | 42 |
| Black colleges | 100 | 0 | 0 |
| All institutions* | 39 | 24 | 37 |

*Percentages for "All institutions" are skewed by the large number of four-year private colleges in the sample.

## Summary and Conclusions

This paper began as a personal search for some answers to questions which trouble many in the academic world today. It proceeded on a recognition of the need to bring black people once and for all to full status in American society and an acceptance of the vital role education could play in achieving that end. It led to thoughts about the specifics of

that role, and as the paper has developed some of these specifics have begun to come into focus.

Because they have had the most experience, the black colleges and universities were seen to have much to teach the white institutions about black higher education. And the leaders of the white institutions were seen to be struggling to learn their lessons. Unfortunately, however, the white colleges and universities appear not to have done their homework as they might; and much of what they have learned they have gained largely from trial and error. In all of these programs they have done far too little, and only under prodding from militant black groups have they begun to realize the magnitude of the efforts they must really make.

This paper began under the assumption that certain kinds of higher educational institutions could appropriately speak to the various kinds of black needs better than others. It sought, in other words, to bring some order to the helter skelter rush of the nation's colleges and universities to be all things for all (black) people. It began to appear under analysis that the universities, for example, could probably involve themselves to a degree in all levels of black higher education but that they might well concentrate upon their graduate and professional education programs and their research and public service projects. For the private four-year colleges, the emphasis seemed most appropriate in the area of undergraduate academic education. The public four-year colleges could also work in this area as well as in vocational-technical education. Meanwhile the community junior colleges could focus best on undergraduate academic education, public service, and vocational-technical education. For the black colleges a need is seen for perhaps a few, new, truly-Black institutions free from dominance by and/or subservience to the white power structure. But for all of these black institutions, however separate, it seems appropriate that some of them band together to become real centers for research into and public service for the black community, to become models for all colleges and universities, white or black, seeking to mount special programs for black people.

How does this compare with actual performance today? Has such a division of labor indeed emerged? Is everyone in higher education today

doing his appropriate share? The questionnaire results connected with this study provide some partial answers to these questions. The universities, as shown on Tables Eight and Nine, do indeed show a relatively strong commitment to undergraduate academic education, professional education, graduate education, and research and public service to the black community.[1] They seem least disposed to enter vocational-technical and adult higher education. Only in the area of undergraduate academic education, on the other hand, do the private four-year colleges show active involvement in black higher education. The public four-year institutions responded relatively weakly in all of the areas, while the community junior colleges showed a similarly weak commitment (although admitting their special role in vocational-technical education). Perhaps partial explanation for this weaker showing of the public four-year colleges and the community junior colleges lies in the nature of the communities which some of these more "local" institutions serve, communities with small or non-existent black populations. The black colleges and universities, on the other hand, understandably showed the greatest commitment across the board, dipping below the fifty percent level of involvement only in the vocational-technical realm.

Thus it would appear that the beginnings of a division of labor have indeed commenced to form. It then behooves us to take cognizance of these trends, to support them where appropriate, and to divert them where it appears necessary. To this end I would make three recommendations:

1) Civil government and the foundations could well increase support to all types of institutions wanting to extend their efforts in pre-college education. No category of institution other than the black colleges has as yet become deeply involved, yet all show a desire for it.

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[1] But note the recent findings of John Egerton, which convinced him that even among these institutions the efforts were only token. See State Universities and Black Americans, published by the Southern Education Association, Atlanta, Georgia in 1969. Obviously, too, one would find great disparities between programs. Some programs represent sheer tokenism; others hopefully go well beyond this.

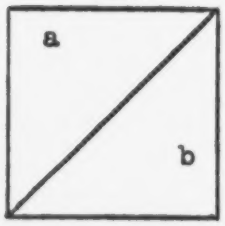
2) Control agencies should provide greater incentives for black higher education among the public four-year and the community junior colleges, institutions which this study suggests have not to date responded as strongly as the other groups. These institutions can serve especially well the black needs for undergraduate academic education, vocational-tehhnical education, adult higher education, and public service.
3) Additional fiscal supports for the private four-year colleges, which have shown a ready willingness to mount costly black undergraduate education programs, would appear appropriate. These institutions deserve encouragement for their efforts.
4) Fiscal supports for costly post baccalaureate professional education programs at present are inadequate and require increasing.

From such increased efforts, plus the insight gained from further experience with black higher education, will hopefully come the kinds of program which do indeed meet black needs. At the beginning of this paper I quoted Earl McGrath, who saw the opening of doors to higher education for black people as the sine qua non of their personal and social adjustment. And I cited the words of Bernard Harleston, who warned that the fate of higher education itself depends upon the capacity of colleges and universities to meet the issues in black education. Hopefully, from these pages the directions in which the various elements of American higher education might move in meeting those issues will somehow appear a bit more discernable. If so, then the considerable effort which has gone into the preparation of this paper will have proven worthwhile.

TABLE EIGHT

Percentages of Institutions Which Either Are Involved or Would Like to Become Involved in Black Higher Education

KEY




a = involved now

b = would like to become involved

| Kinds of Black Higher Education | Universities | Private 4-year Colleges | Public 4-year Colleges | Community Junior Colleges | Black Colleges | All Institutions* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Pre-College Education | 53 / 20 | 36 / 23 | 16 / 37 | 46 / 23 | 100 / 0 | 40 / 24 |
| Undergraduate Academic Education | 80 / 7 | 91 / 2 | 58 / 21 | 62 / 19 | 100 / 0 | 80 / 8 |
| Vocational-Technical Education | 13 / 7 | 3 / 5 | 21 / 16 | 65 / 19 | 38 / 13 | 21 / 10 |
| Adult Higher Education | 33 / 7 | 19 / 20 | 31 / 21 | 54 / 27 | 100 / 0 | 34 / 19 |
| Professional Education | 67 / 20 | 14 / 0 | 32 / 42 | 0 / 0 | 50 / 25 | 22 / 10 |
| Graduate Education | 67 / 20 | 9 / 3 | 16 / 26 | 0 / 0 | 50 / 0 | 17 / 8 |
| Research and Public Service | 73 / 13 | 28 / 27 | 47 / 21 | 23 / 35 | 100 / 0 | 39 / 24 |

*Percentages for "All Institutions" are skewed by the large number of prive four-year colleges in the sample.

TABLE NINE

Percentages of Institutions Who Consider Involvement in Black Higher Eduaction Inappropriate

| Kinds of Black Higher Education | Universities | Private 4-year Colleges | Public 4-year Colleges | Community Junior Colleges | Black Colleges | All Institutions* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Pre-College Education | 27 | 41 | 47 | 31 | 0 | 36 |
| Undergraduate Academic Education | 13 | 8 | 21 | 19 | 0 | 11 |
| Vocational-Technical Education | 80 | 92 | 63 | 15 | 50 | 69 |
| Adult Higher Education | 60 | 62 | 47 | 19 | 0 | 47 |
| Professional Education | 13 | 86 | 26 | 100 | 25 | 68 |
| Graduate Education | 13 | 88 | 58 | 100 | 50 | 75 |
| Research and Public Service | 13 | 45 | 32 | 42 | 0 | 37 |

*Percentages for "All Institutions" are skewed by the large number of private four-year colleges in the sample.